

24 April 1974

MEMORANDUM: Some Statistical Observations on the Daily

In order to try to measure the contribution, if any, that the Daily has made during its experimental period, we have compiled four short papers:

-- The first compares the coverage in the Daily against that in the Post. The time period was chosen haphazardly. We did not go through all 90-odd issues and pick the weeks where the Daily looked best. The first period (January 11--January 23) compares just the Post with the Daily. The second period (March 17--March 30) continues the comparison between the Daily and the Post and to a lesser extent with the Times.

-- The second is a case study of the daily coverage of the political storm that gathered around General Spínola in Portugal.

-- The third makes some comparisons between the Daily and the CIB. All of us have had the sense that the Daily generated stories for the CIB (at least prior to the orders that the CIB be more selective).

-- The fourth is an examination into how many of the Daily's stories were written at night. The period covered is March 18 through April 17. Not all of the stories noted owe their existence to the Daily and its night arrangements, but many do. In any case, we do not include, because we have no way of recovering the information, how many stories written during the day were amended, updated, or killed by the night crews.

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I. A COMPARISON OF THE DAILY AND THE POST

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Herewith some of the findings of a quick comparison of the Daily and The Washington Post, January 11 through 23. We have focused on news-type stories. We did not compare those stories that continued for a number of days [redacted] which would require a more detailed analysis to be of any use.

Conclusions:

- The Daily carried a number of unique items based on information unavailable to the commercial press.
- The Daily was generally more timely than the Post. It was often a day ahead on important stories and sometimes several days ahead.
- The Daily provided "early warning" on such developments as the brewing military unrest in Ethiopia--long before anything appeared in the commercial press.
- Even in those stories covered in both the Daily and the Post, the Daily often had an added dimension provided by classified information.

January 11: The Daily carried an item that said South Korean President Pak was about to propose a non-aggression pact to the North. The Post picked up the story on January 19. The Daily on this day ran an item on pressures that threatened the joint European float; this presaged major developments that culminated in the French quitting the float in January 19.

January 12: The Daily carried the naming of Ten Hsiao-ping to the Politburo. On the following day, the Post noted that Teng's name was high up on a list of dignitaries who sent wreaths on the death of the vice minister of defense, suggesting this meant his star was again on the rise. The Post did not pick up his appointment to the Politburo until the 15th.

January 13: Sunday--no issue, but Post did not scoop the Daily on anything.

January 14: The Daily carried an item on a strike by 10,000 French coal miners in Lorraine, reporting that some French officials saw "gloomy parallels" between the strike and the labor situation in Britain. The Daily updated the story on January 22, again noting that a prolonged strike would cut coal production in France by one third. The Post never did report the strike, and the Daily has not returned to wind up the story to say whether or not the strike has been settled). On January 16 both carried the appointment of Ecevit as prime minister.

January 15: The Daily carried an item that said Bourguiba was about to revoke his merger with Libya. Post carried the story on the next day, the day on which the Daily said Bourguiba had in fact backed away from the merger.

January 16: The Daily carried an item on South Vietnam Assembly getting three amendments from Thieu, the most important of which would allow him to run for a third term as president. The Daily had carried Thieu's plans on these amendments on January 12. On the 18th, the Daily said the assembly was likely to approve the amendments, the day on which the Post first reported that the amendments had been offered. Post reported on January 20 that the amendments were approved; the Daily did not return to the story, although an item on January 18 left the reader with the conclusion that approval was a virtual certainty.

January 17: The Daily's lead story was on Jobert's trip to several Arab states (set to begin January 24). Post carried similar story on January 23. Editors had a busy night preparing this issue, having six late items, two of which were "intelligence exclusives." Of the others, two were similar to Post items [redacted] [redacted] on one (Cambodia) the Daily was more up to date than the Post, and on the sixth [redacted] the two publications carried different conclusions.

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[redacted] Also on this day, the Daily carried its first item on trouble brewing in the Ethiopian military, long before anything appeared on the subject in the commercial press.

January 18: In treating Middle East disengagement, the Daily highlighted possible Syrian break with Egypt over the issue while the Post concentrated on the Israeli-Egyptian disengagement itself. Post picked up the Syrian angle on January 21. The Daily carried first reporting of clash on Paracels, which did not appear in Post until the next day. The Daily reported on January 19 that the Chinese had ousted the Vietnamese from the islands, not reported in the Post until January 21. The Daily on the 18th also carried an item on conflicts among the Palestinians over representation at the Geneva talks, which the Post did not pick up until the 22nd.

January 19: Lead Daily item was Sadat's tour of several Arab states to dispel fears on disengagement agreement. Post front-paged the story on January 20. Both papers carried late items on collapse of Belgian cabinet. The Daily carried story on strengthening of the dollar which was a useful lead-in to subsequent monetary developments, particularly the weakening of European and Japanese currencies in the wake of the French decision to quit the joint float.

January 20: Sunday. No Daily, and the Post scooped us on the French float decision and the Chinese expulsion of five Soviets. Both of these stories were picked up by the Daily on January 21.

January 21: The Daily carried item on Peron's "declaration of war" against terrorists. It had already run item on January 17 [redacted]

[redacted] Post on January 21 had item on terrorist attack on Argentine Army garrison that prompted Peron's "declaration," but did not carry the declaration itself until January 22. Also on January 21, Post had item on Chinese arms aid to Pakistan, which asserts the Chinese will provide SAMs. [redacted]

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January 22: Post carried story on a speech by Boumediene foreshadowing his call for a UN session on the use of the world's resources, which was covered by the Daily on February 1. The Daily lead story on January 22 was similar to Post lead on world monetary matters. Daily item focused on diverse ramifications of French float decision while Post reported mainly on immediate effects on price of gold and European currencies. Also on January 22, both carried brief items on Soviet protest to Chinese over expulsion of officials, which Daily characterized as "weak" and "belated." Post reported the protest without comment.

January 23: Post on this date carried a story on an OAU delegation meeting with Arab leaders on oil supplies. The Daily on January 28 reported results of the meeting. Both pubs carried Knesset approval of disengagement. Daily was more sanguine on formation of Israeli cabinet as a result of vote on Knesset speaker, which occurred same day; not covered by Post.

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FEATURE OR FEATURE-TYPE ARTICLES--11-23 JANUARY

In the Daily

Bourguiba

Vietnam Fighting

EC and Energy

UN Emergency Force

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Brezhnev to Cuba

Lao Coalition Efforts

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Military in Chinese  
Politics

Italian Divorce Controversy

Indonesia Riots & Underlying  
Problems

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Pravda on US Congressmen

Solzhenitsyn

In the Post

Bourguiba

Iceland/NATO

US Boycott of Cuba

Resettlement in Quang Tri

Asian Resentment of Japan

Life in Phnom Penh

Canada Politics

Solzhenitsyn

Canada Oil

European Security Conferences

Indonesia

Education Debates in China

Crime in China

Crime in USSR

Indian Concern over French  
Arms Deals in Persian Gulf

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I.a. A COMPARISON WITH THE POST AND TIMES

We have also compared the content of the Daily against that of the Post and the Times for the two-week period March 17 through March 30. The results are pretty much the same as in the earlier period, although this time we attempted a more detailed look at the kinds of stories, their placement in the paper and some comment on their respective merit.

The conclusions again are similar:

- The commercial press has a clear advantage where it has correspondents overseas writing unique material, a large, experienced, and dedicated staff and a Sunday edition.
- The Daily has clear advantages in respect to timeliness inside, i.e., classified information, and in the amount of foreign affairs material we are able to print.

This investigation produced a rather long story, so we are reproducing here only the material from March 19 and March 29.

March 19 (Tuesday): Lead item in Post is on the lifting of the Arab oil embargo. The Daily and Times items focused on report that Saudis are increasing production, mostly for US; the Post item says the end of the embargo will not mean US needs will be met. Daily item three days later says increased production should go a long way toward meeting US needs.

The Post item says Kurds have seized an area of Iraq along the Iraq-Iran border. The Daily had carried this fighting on March 16 and continued to give good coverage on the subject on March 21 and March 23. The Times treated the Kurds on March 23.

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The Post carried story on refusal of Ethiopian noblemen to sell land to peasants as ordered by the Emperor. Times had Ehtiopian stories on March 21, 22 and 23. The Daily has been generally ahead of the commercial press on Ethiopia even though it did not have an item on this day. On the following day, the Daily ran a broader piece that dealt with growing rural unrest, of which the Post item was only a part.

The Post and Times had stories on violence in India's Bihar state; both returned to the subject on March 20 and 21. The Daily covered the story on March 20.

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Stories in the Daily on March 19 not covered by Post during the week:

Vietnam fighting eases (In Times on same day)

Feature on three Soviet regional leaders

Paris pushes EC on energy policy

Feature on Soviet agricultural policy

Tito resurfaces

Soviet military aid to Yemen (Aden)

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Waldheim may seek Austrian presidency

Continuing embargo on the Dutch

Raul Castro's extended visit to USSR

Sweden's economic program

Guatamalan presidential politics

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[REDACTED]

A front-page Daily item on Soviet media reaction to the Kissinger visit was not reflected in the Post or Times this day, even though Daily item was based on open sources. The Post did carry an equivalent item on March 30.

A Daily story on the Solzhenitsyn family's departure from Moscow was based on information later that got into the Post.

The Post carried an item on the growing rift between the US and Greece--a subject not reported in the Daily.

Items in the Daily on March 29 not carried in the Post or Times:

Feature item on China: Chou en-lai under pressure to be more militant on Taiwan, other issues

[REDACTED]

South Vietnam: Communist supply movements increasing (comment)

Feature: UAE investment policies (#3 in series)

Chile-Peru: border dispute could involve US President [REDACTED]

East Germans get their first SA-3 missiles (comment)

Warsaw Pact to meet soon in Warsaw

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The Daily item on Moscow's second note to Peking on the helicopter incident had a counterpart in both the Post and the Times. The Daily item was analytical, the commercial press was reportorial.

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## II. THE RECENT TROUBLES IN PORTUGAL--A CASE STUDY

The Daily picked up the gathering storm in Lisbon on March 5, with an item suggesting that the government was weighing its policies toward the African colonies. As evidence, we reported the publication of General Spínola's book, which advocated a gradual loosening of control by the Metropole. Spínola, who had led the fighting in Guinea Bissau, was convinced the colonial war was gradually becoming a no-win adventure that was tearing the Portuguese army apart.

The story said the publication of Spínola's book at the least signalled a willingness to tolerate discussion of the issue. We noted, however, that Caetano would have to be careful not to arouse the ire of the right wing.

On March 6, the Daily carried a four-paragraph item on demands by rightists--led by President Thomaz--for the removal of Spínola for having published his book. The item concluded that Spínola would be hard to dump because of his support in the army. Item noted "reformists" had rallied behind Spínola and were demanding removal of Thomaz. Caetano was said to be playing a middle role; we said it was unlikely that Thomaz would remove Spínola. Item predicted more trouble to come.

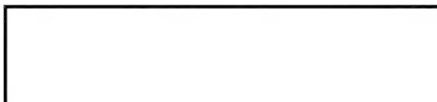
Nothing yet in the commercial press.

On March 7 the Daily carried a brief item on infiltration in Angola, but did not relate it to problems developing in the Metropole.

On March 11 the Daily published a late item that said generals Spínola and Costa Gomes may have been exiled. The article said Caetano still playing a middle role in the matter.

The March 12 Daily reported that Spínola and Costa Gomes were still in Portugal and that some of their supporters in the military were being exiled. The Daily said Caetano would

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soon have to choose sides. Armed forces had been placed on alert because of "internal disciplinary problems." The Washington Post on the same day, March 12, had a six-line item in its "Around the World" section reporting the military alert. This was the first press mention of anything related to the controversy.

The March 13 New York Times reported the alert. The Post on the 13th reported that the alert had been lifted, and for the first time, noted it was related to a debate over African policy. The Post said that a group of junior officers voiced support "last week" for Spínola's views on African policy.

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The March 15 New York Times ran a small item on dismissal of Costa Gomes and Spínola and characterized the matter as the biggest political crisis in Portugal in a decade.

The March 15 Daily reported dismissal of Costa Gomes and Spínola, citing this as victory for rightists; said dismissals might cause rumblings in colonies, and noted Costa Gomes replaced by Luz Cunha. The Washington Post on March 15, again in "Around the World" section, reported the dismissals and said a new alert was on in Portuguese armed forces. The Post also reported 100 political and military leaders had met with Caetano--on national TV--to pledge loyalty both to Caetano and to current African policies.

The March 16 Daily did a piece on Luz Cunha and said his appointment made it clear there would be no change in Portugal's African policy. Suggested more leadership changes might occur.

The Washington Post on March 16, in its first full-scale article on the matter, covered a speech by Caetano that expressed optimism on the army's ability to win the colonial wars. The article also caught up on a number of details not previously in the press, but which had been in the Daily, and gave a brief history of the fighting in Africa.



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The Sunday Times had an item titled "The War Comes Home," which covered the "uprising" by some 200 troops in Portugal. Post did the same, but on the front page--the first front-page treatment in commercial press. Post on this day--March 17--also had a box item that gave a detailed account of the disagreements in Lisbon over African policy. Post said Caetano tried to use Spínola as a stalking horse to break the opposition of rightists to his cautious political and economic reforms. Post said the strategy came "unstuck" when the rightists rallied to force removal of Spínola.

The March 18 Daily ran an item on the rebellion--we had been scooped by lack of a Sunday edition.

The March 19 New York Times reported lifting of second alert.

The March 20 Post had two items, one on aims of mutinous troop and another a purported meeting of Spínola with a rebel leader in Portuguese Guinea.

The March 20 Daily carried analytical item pointing out that Caetano was now more dependent on the right. It noted military alert off again.

On March 24 the New York Times had brief item saying Portuguese army will never be the same following the recent events.

On March 27 the Daily ran an item saying "substantial segments" of military still opposed to Africa policy and circulating petitions critical of ouster of Spínola and of the policy itself.

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### III. A COMPARISON OF THE DAILY AND THE CIB

The Daily is calling to the attention of its readers a quite different set of articles than those the CIB is publishing. Of the 150 articles that began on the front page of the Daily in March 1974, 58--over one third--did not appear in the CIB on the same morning.

The Daily tends to be more current than the CIB. The Bulletin did publish 59 late articles during the month, but 48 of these appeared before the Bulletin editors were instructed to be more discriminating.

The Daily offers a dimension for the high-level policy maker that the Bulletin can not. Of the Daily's front page articles that the Bulletin did not run on the same day, 18--almost a third--probably could not be included in the Bulletin because of their classification. Another 11, or nearly 20 percent, were feature articles.

The more highly classified articles tend to be among the Daily's most important. Of the Daily's 37 highly classified articles, half appeared on the front page. The same may be said of feature articles; almost one third began on the front page.

The Daily publishes a large number of articles that do not appear in the Bulletin. Only 12 of the 298 articles the Daily printed first were picked up subsequently by the Bulletin.

The Daily is an important vehicle for the Office of Economic Research to get its analyses before a broad, high-level audience. Forty-five, or 15 percent, of the articles that were unique to the Daily were OER articles.

Thirty-four Bulletin articles, or 5 percent of all Daily articles, appeared in the Bulletin first. Another 23 articles never appeared in the Daily.

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	Total Articles	Articles in Daily First	In Bulletin later	In Daily only because of classification	Economic articles not normally in the Bulletin	Feature articles	On Daily front page; not in Bulletin	Late Daily articles never in Bulletin	Late Bulletin articles	Daily articles previously in Bulletin	Art Bul on
1	25	10	3	1	0	1	1	3	5	0	0
2	24	11	1	0	2	1	0	0	3	1	0
4	18	7	0	1	3	2	2	2	5	0	1
5	19	13	0	1	0	1	1	1	3	1	0
6	23	6	0	2	2	1	2	2	6	0	1
7	25	10	2	1	2	1	4	0	3	0	0
8	23	10	0	1	1	1	1	1	3	0	0
9	18	10	0	0	0	2	1	0	2	1	0
11	16	4	0	3	2	1	4	1	3	1	0
12	20	12	1	4	2	0	1	0	3	0	3
13	21	11	1	1	5	1	2	1	2	3	3
14	26	11	0	0	1	2	3	1	3	1	0
15	22	9	0	1	2	2	1	3	4	0	1
16	27	15	1	0	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
18	28	17	0	1	1	1	3	0	0	2	4
19	19	8	1	5	1	3	4	3	0	3	1
20	23	14	0	4	2	2	2	2	1	1	0
21	22	15	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	4	0
22	23	9	0	1	3	3	4	3	2	0	0
23	27	15	0	3	1	1	1	2	1	0	0
25	23	18	0	1	2	1	0	5	1	0	0
26	20	8	0	2	2	1	3	5	1	4	1
27	25	14	0	1	1	2	4	3	1	2	0
28	24	14	0	0	2	1	2	2	0	3	0
29	20	12	1	0	2	1	2	2	1	2	0
30	24	15	1	2	3	1	2	2	0	2	0
35	535	298	12	37	45	35	58	46	59	34	23
per	22.5	11.5				1 1/3	2.23				
		50% of total articles	less than 1/2 of 1% of all Daily articles	10% of all articles only in the Daily	15% of all articles only in the Daily	12% of all articles only in the Daily	15% of all articles only in the Daily	.05% of all articles in the Daily			

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